

tiously follow his conscience and his good judgment and both are going to be on the side of the support of this bill as far as I am concerned.

Mr. Chairman, you have done a great service to your country in presenting this bill. I won't go into the details of the bill. It has been carefully prepared. There are points that probably will be raised and will be clarified in the course of the debate in your able explanation of the bill which I am sure you will give.

We are bent upon great business and I want to congratulate this fine committee for what it has done to produce this splendid bill.

I am privileged and proud to be here to assure you of my support for it in every way that I can help.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the gentleman from Florida for his splendid remarks which I share with him wholeheartedly. It is my privilege to have developed a very keen and friendly relation with him since he returned to the Congress.

Thank you very much. I share with you in all your views.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank you very much. I appreciate those kind words from my able and good friend from Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brooks?

Mr. BROOKS. I thank the distinguished gentleman for his kind remarks. My great-grandfather also fought on the Southern side on both sides of my family. They survived that and I survived the 1964 bill. [Laughter.]

Mr. PEPPER. I am sure our able friend from Texas will survive all the tests of the long future. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. CORMAN. No questions. Mr. Conyers. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lindsay?

Mr. LINDSAY. Our colleague, Congressman PEPPER, has handled himself extremely well, made a very good statement. It does appear a Harvard education has not hurt you at all.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank my distinguished friend from New York.

## The Untold Part of the Selma Story

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the American people have been fed millions of words in the newspapers and over the radio and TV depicting the good people of Alabama as monsters, as degenerates, as every vile thing that could be named. At the same time the Martin Luther King demonstrators have been pictured as sweet, loving, dedicated martyrs to a noble cause.

There were many in the demonstrations who were motivated by good intentions, but there were others whose actions have filled the people who witnessed the march with disgust. These incidents have not been reported by the press and for good reason, they would disgust all good people everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I think we should tear away the curtain which has been so

carefully placed around Martin Luther King and his followers. Let us find out what kind of people are being called "saintly" and who we are being told we must allow to continue their demonstrations at whatever cost to our national morality or freedoms.

The following article from the Sunday, March 28, edition of the Birmingham News speaks for itself. Is it any wonder in such an atmosphere that there was bloodshed?

The Birmingham News article follows:  
LOVEMAKING IN OPEN DEFINITELY OCCURRED  
IN SELMA PRAYER VIGIL

Alabama has been rife with rumors of widespread immorality among civil rights demonstrators during and before the march on the State capitol at Montgomery.

Charges have included illicit relations in the streets of Selma and at the march campsites; urinating in the streets of Montgomery; as many as 40 attacks by Negroes on a white female demonstrator, resulting in her death; and a general immoral climate in the civil rights movement.

Some of the rumors proved completely without basis, including the death of the woman marcher.

Others have been proven true according to reliable sources and eyewitness accounts. These are the charges of illicit relationships among couples in the streets at Selma and urinating by demonstrators outside the capitol in Montgomery.

As for the immoral acts in Selma, city Public Safety Director Wilson Baker told the Birmingham News upon questioning, "There very definitely was some of it." Baker said it occurred during a so-called all-night prayer vigil on Wednesday, March 10.

An Associated Press writer, Kelso Sturgeon of Atlanta, was also at the scene that night and he told the News there was "no doubt about it."

Sturgeon said, "I saw at least three couples involved in intercourse. There was considerable hanky-panky."

Baker said it "was very definitely open in kissing and loving and drinking."

The charge that similar activity took place at the various campsites during the march to Montgomery could not be substantiated.

The tents were segregated, the men in one and the women in another. Troops formed a semicircle around the campsite and marshals on the march staff patrolled the area during the night.

On the all-night vigil in Selma, newsmen, including two reporters for the News, witnessed demonstrators as they urinated in the middle of Montgomery's Dexter Avenue less than 50 yards from the capitol steps.

The demonstration had begun early in the day, but by nightfall had dwindled to about 200, largely members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, led by SNCC's James Foreman.

As the demonstrators departed, Montgomery police tightened their ring around those left and would not let any back in.

A ring of people—men and women, Negro and white—stood and locked arms while others in the group of demonstrators urinated.

One Negro boy was hustled off to jail by police on a charge of indecent exposure.

A reporter for the News also said there was evidence of petting and lovemaking between white and Negro demonstrators.

Some ministers were present and witnessed it, he said.

Hundreds of ministers from over the nation participated in the civil rights movement. There were also nuns and church laymen. College students also joined the ranks of the demonstrators. There was a large number of beatniks.

## The All-Purpose Cure

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News has presented a thoughtful and telling analysis of the medical care plan approved by the Committee on Ways and Means, with particular emphasis on the cost to employees and their employers and the impact on the freedom of the individual to handle his own arrangements with his own money. These are vital factors which concern every working man and woman in the United States. There is no denying that effective means must be found to provide medical care for those in need but I doubt very much that the average American taxpayer would tolerate the use of his tax money to provide medical care for those financially able to pay their own medical bills.

Alternative programs have been proposed which, in my opinion, are preferable and would adequately meet the need. It is regrettable that the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means has felt it necessary to institute a program which, as the following editorial points out, is just another step toward total Government management of individual income:

#### THE ALL-PURPOSE CURE

The camel is such an ugly beast (so the saying goes) that it looks as if it had been put together by a committee. The comment is apt in considering the medicare bill that emerged from the House Ways and Means Committee. The ungainly product of the committee process is full of humps and has doubtful workability.

The committee took the administration's proposal for compulsory health insurance for the elderly under social security, and grafted on a voluntary insurance program to cover medical and surgical fees. Then it tied the deal to a general increase in social security benefits and a hefty boost in taxes.

All of the objectionable features of the original medicare proposal are retained. The voluntary insurance program, which was offered as a sensible alternative, becomes frosting for the cake, to be paid for out of increased benefits. And the projected cost soars from the original estimate of \$2 billion in the first year to something close to \$6 billion.

The need for some measure to ease the financial burden of medical care for the elderly is undeniable. But the House committee's attempt to find something for everyone all at once, and hang the expense, raises the question of whether the committee doesn't need a doctor more than the people it is trying to help.

Predictions that medicare would become a nose in the tent (there's that camel again) are more than borne out by the committee's action favoring the bill on a party line vote, 17 to 8. If it can double in size in the first step toward passage, who can say how large the program will become in a few years' time? Or how quickly it will spread to other age groups and interfere with doctor-patient relationships, just as the American Medical Association has been warning?

Consider what will happen to social security taxes if this bill passes. Both the tax

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rate and the level of income to which it applies will go up. Now 3.625 percent on \$4,800 of annual pay (\$174 per year), the tax would rise steadily to 5.6 percent on \$6,600 a year, or \$343.20 in 1987. These are the amounts deducted from wages and salaries; employers put up equal amounts. This means that even if no further increases are made (a doubtful assumption) \$686.40 a year will be paid for nearly every employee into social security alone, before any provision at all is made for Federal income taxes, excise taxes, sales taxes, property taxes, and all the other visible and invisible taxes that bite into the paycheck.

With compulsory health insurance, we take another step along the road toward total Government management of individual income. Less and less is left to the individual to spend as he pleases or save toward the "rainy day" or retirement.

According to the Tax Foundation, the total taxes collected by all levels of Government averaged out to \$2,600 per family in 1964, up from \$2,493 in 1963. And the trend is steadily upward. A cut in Federal income tax is offset by the increases in social security, State and local taxes. Local government in Illinois, for example, increased in cost by 105 percent from 1954 to 1964.

The need for some form of medicare would be greatly reduced if individuals were left free to make their own arrangements with their own money. But the Government way is to take the savings in advance and tell the individual, "Relax, we'll take care of you."

It will, too. It already does, by taking massive bites out of the paycheck and doling the money back in dribbles, in its own good time and subject to its own conditions.

Whether its medicare or some other program sold on the theory that "it's good for you," the result is the same—a steady erosion of individual initiative and choice.

## The Road to Freedom in East-Central Europe

Europe

SPEECH

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following memorandum from the 11th session of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, Document No. 393, dated March 24, 1965: THE ROAD TO FREEDOM IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

The prevalent view in the West is that the situation in Europe has undergone a significant change for the better during the last 2 years. Fully absorbed by the rift with Red China, by difficulties with its Eastern European satellites and by domestic problems, the Soviet Union is supposed to have dropped any expansionist aim in Europe. Preoccupation with the war in Vietnam and economic prosperity, as well as an over-optimistic assessment of developments in east-central Europe, further feed the impression that Western Europe is not only secure but can look forward patiently to the gradual recession of Soviet influence.

The Assembly of Captive European Nations cannot share this optimistic evaluation of recent events in Europe. In the view of the assembly, one can at best speak of a

change of Soviet tactics in Europe. The policy of intimidation, as symbolized by the Berlin ultimatum (1958-62), founded on the shores of Cuba. The emphasis is now on political penetration through the old device of popular fronts. The new, nationalist and moderate, image some of the Western European Communist Parties are striving to project is likely to serve this purpose regardless whether or not it was a genuine emancipation from a rigid, Moscow-set course of policy. But this new emphasis on political penetration in no way excludes the danger of a return to the policy of intimidation. The possibility, indeed, that Moscow may revert sooner or later to the attempt of gaining ground by pressures, backed up by conventional military power, cannot be discarded. In this context, the practical deterrent influence the nations of Eastern Europe represent, to the extent they endanger Soviet lines of communication, constitutes a factor of Western European security which cannot and should not be neglected.

There can be no doubt that the Communist world is beset with troubles. The deepening Moscow-Peking rift, the instability inherent in the collective-type of leadership the Soviet Union has had since the ouster of Khrushchev, the structural crisis of Communist agriculture, the more and more obvious inadequacy of rigid economic planning—are undeniably hampering Soviet expansionism.

But these developments should not obscure the fact that Communist aims have not changed; that Soviet military power remains deployed in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and the Baltic States, that is, in the heart of Europe; that the apparently increased autonomy of the Communist Parties in Western Europe enhances their effectiveness; that the new projection of the satellites as genuinely independent removes an important obstacle to Communist advances through political penetration and internal subversion; that the widely heralded changes in Eastern Europe have not altered the nature of the Communist regimes or their basic, if less evident, dependence on Moscow; that these changes are designed to make the Communist system work and thus render it domestically more acceptable and internationally more respectable.

One is mindful of the divergences which have developed recently within the Western Alliance and of the slackening of the sense of danger in Europe under the impact of a rather optimistic view of the crisis the Communist world is undergoing. One can only conclude that difficulties are present on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Opportunities to gain ground, therefore, appear to be open to both the free and the Communist side.

It is the considered view of ACEN that if the free nations hold their ground in the next few years and continue to demonstrate their determination to help the peoples in east-central Europe to recover full freedom and independence, while refraining from actions apt to lend prestige or to help the Communist regimes to solve their serious economic problems, necessity will compel these regimes to adopt more rational ways involving greater freedom of action for economically essential segments of the population, such as the technological and managerial elite and the peasants. Concessions induced by pressure and necessity might unleash an irreversible process of disintegration of the totalitarian pattern. The very nature of the Soviet regime, with its built-in crises of succession and civil war potential, might provide the opportunity for such a process culminating in acts of self-deliverance.

II

To further the process of national and human emancipation in Eastern Europe, it is essential to distinguish carefully between the peoples of east-central Europe, the potential

allies of the West, and the Communist rulers who keep them in bondage.

It is imperative to avert any kind of actions apt to be construed as acceptance of the finality of the political status quo in Eastern Europe.

It is most useful to indicate by appropriate diplomatic actions awareness that uniting Europe in its natural borders and making it politically, militarily and economically self-reliant is, in the long run, the only sound and dependable foundation for peace and security in the key area of Europe.

It is necessary to show awareness of the fact that in spite of the differences from one Eastern European country to another, their situation is fundamentally the same. Their relationship to the Soviet Union cannot be defined in terms of an alliance or a mutual security arrangement. The Soviet Government guarantees, indeed, the Communist regimes against their internal enemies rather than national territory against external aggression. The certainty of Soviet intervention acts as a deterrent upon the ruled and an assurance to the rulers. In such conditions the attitude of the majority toward the regimes remains one of mute hostility. This hostility and the pressures it causes, chiefly in the form of noncooperation and other types of passive resistance, is a proven source of positive changes, particularly when it goes hand in hand with steady pressures from without. It creates, moreover, for the Soviet Union a risk factor, which has played in the past and, given the growing nuclear stalemate, may again play in the future an important deterrent role to Soviet aggressiveness.

One can hardly stress enough that the diminution of unnecessary terror in east-central Europe, on the pattern adopted in the Soviet Union, does not mean a basic change in the Communist system. The dictatorial rule by a single party, a minority group, supported by police and military forces, remains the essential feature of the Communist regimes. The freedoms of speech, press, assembly and association are still denied in east-central Europe. There is no multiparty system, in spite of the nominal existence, in some countries, of sham peasant or democratic parties which have adopted the platform of the Communist Party and have acknowledged its "leading role." The "elections" are still held with single governmental lists. There are no opposition candidates. This one-party system is basically the same in the nine captive countries, in spite of some differences in the degree of police control and of the operation of the economic system. Guarantees against arbitrary arrest and detention and the rule of law are still conspicuous by their absence. Religion and churches continue to be persecuted.

In all the East European countries the peasants constitute the majority of the population. But, with the single exception of Poland, they have been deprived of their freedom and their land by collectivization, which was enforced in most of the area during the last decade, after the death of Stalin. Consequently, the peasants are deeply hostile to the dictatorship of the Communist minority.

III

For all these reasons it is incumbent upon the Assembly of Captive European Nations to stress that, both in the short- and long-term perspective, the Western Powers have a vital stake in the friendship of the peoples of Eastern Europe and a clear interest in fostering among them the belief that there is for them reasonable hope of deliverance.

In this conviction, the Assembly appeals to the governments and peoples of the free world, and particularly to the U.S. Government:

1. To reaffirm at every appropriate occasion the validity of the wartime and postwar legal commitments and pledges with respect to

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Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania and to ask compliance therewith;

2. To call before the United Nations and in negotiations with the Soviet Union for an all-European settlement based on the right of self-determination and to seek the withdrawal of Soviet troops from east-central Europe, the restoration of political and human rights and free elections under international supervision;

3. To demand a United Nations inquiry of the state of human rights and fundamental freedoms in east-central Europe, including an investigation of conditions in prisons and forced-labor camps;

4. To exact—as proposed by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO in its statement of March 1, 1965—in return for whatever credits or other economic advantages the free nations may deem expedient to grant, commensurate concessions in the form of: (a) effective and self-enforcing measures to assure the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms to the peoples of east-central Europe; (b) changes in the economic policies of the Communist regimes designed to foster social welfare and do away with the present, politically motivated but economically deficient course of policy, both in agriculture and industry; and (c) hard and fast commitments to put an end to Soviet economic exploitation by means of discriminatory prices in the foreign trade between the Soviet Union and the individual east-central European countries and thus make certain that Western credits will not indirectly subsidize the economy of the Soviet Union.

**Uncle Sam Is the Goat****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. PAGE BELCHER**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1965

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article entitled "Uncle Sam Is the Goat" by Henry J. Taylor, which appeared in the Tulsa World on February 6, 1965:

UNCLE SAM IS THE GOAT

(By Henry J. Taylor)

IT'S A DREAM WORLD

President Charles de Gaulle can draw gold and threaten our dollar because, on balance, we owe France more than France owes us.

What nonsense. Totally false. France is in hock to us for everything but Napoleon's cooked hat and the family silver. Until a more outrageous situation comes along this one will do.

We're to blame, nevertheless. The Internal Revenue Service slaps you in jail if you fail to pay your debt to our Government. But if you're a foreigner, oo-la-la, forget it.

This is the root of the trouble. The United States has always been a gleeful giver abroad but a very stupid collector.

Generation after generation of European government money men seem to put our debt collectors under an anesthetic. A few whiffs, a few banquets under crystal chandeliers, some *párez-vous* about zis or zat, and the next thing you know our little lambs—wafted into some strange kind of inferiority complex—are dumping foreign nations' taxpayers' responsibility smack in the lap of the American people.

In this native yen to buy international

good will we lose the respect of the Europeans as well as our money.

The price? It is colossal. Yet you never hear about it from Washington.

I have verified all figures in this article with the New York Federal Reserve Bank, and nothing here refers to America's \$113 billion foreign aid—all free. I refer only to truly due obligations incurred by nations mostly now rich and loaded with gold.

France, for example, typifies just one of 20 countries owing us World War I debts which remain due and unpaid to this very day. The aggregate among the 20 exceeds \$20 billion. But who would know it?

The French sum is \$6.3 billion. It was many times higher than this but, guess what, France negotiated it down. Then in 1931 France said she couldn't pay that year's installment. Washington declared a 1-year moratorium.

Well, that was the end of that. Paris simply refused to resume payments. Our taxpayers have made up the difference. The French Government no longer even carries these billions on official statements covering France's external debt.

In addition, while De Gaulle draws gold, France has outstanding three loans arising from World War II. These total a tidy \$592 million. The repayment rate? A mere \$21.5 million last year, \$22 million due this year, and \$22.6 in 1966, etc., on the first of these of which \$409 million is owed.

Moreover, France also owes us \$170 million still unpaid since 1945 on an Export-Import Bank loan, prepayments on which make the next installment not due until 1967.

Yet, sunk under this mountain of debt, De Gaulle is nevertheless free to take a \$150 million bite out of our dwindling gold reserve in a single recent day.

In similar fashion Britain still owes us \$9.1 billion in World War I debts that remain due and unpaid. Oh, no, France has no monopoly on the anesthesia.

Germany owes us nothing, which is what she gets for attacking the world and losing the war. She now holds more dollars in her reserve than any country in the world. But Germany—like France, Italy, Spain, Holland, and most European countries—feels uneasy about her dollar balances and has steadily increased her gold holdings relative to dollars.

European enthusiasm for President Johnson's proposal to free about \$55 billion of the gold required to back our dollar is mighty, mighty understandable. It means the debtor nations, who now somehow call themselves creditors, can continue to get a piece of the U.S. pile.

If Mr. Johnson were so zealous in insisting on Europeans paying their debts as he is on changing the law to free our gold we would not have to ship a single ounce on balance and, in truth, the gold outflow could be reversed overnight.

Isn't there anything—anything, anything—that can bring our officials out from under the ether? When, oh, when, will the American interest really be put forward in Washington?

**Segregation, Subsidies, and Megalopolis****EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I have read with great interest a publica-

tion issued by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, located in Santa Barbara, Calif.

The contents are as provocative as the title, "Segregation, Subsidies, and Megalopolis."

Written by Bernard Weissbourd, president of Metropolitan Structures, Inc., which specializes in the construction of apartments, hotels, and offices in eastern and midwestern cities, the text also appeared in the December 19, 1964, issue of Saturday Review under the title, "Are Cities Obsolete?"

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Weissbourd's comments to my colleagues concerned with problems of urbanism. Indeed, with the President pinpointing the needs and challenge of urban America, I think "Segregation, Subsidies, and Megalopolis" is most timely, and I include it herewith:

**SEGREGATION, SUBSIDIES, AND MEGALOPOLIS**

(By Bernard Weissbourd)

From 55 to 60 million more people will be living in metropolitan areas in 1980 than were living there in 1960. How will we manage? Already our cities are decaying faster than they can be rebuilt. Parking is a universal problem. The tax base of the city is eroding as industry moves to the suburbs. A significant part of the white population is also moving to the suburbs, while the cores of our cities are filling with Negroes as the migration from the South steadily rises. The cost to the cities of trying to adjust the migrants to a new kind of existence imposes additional burdens upon the city's tax base.

Taxes are also rising in the suburbs to pay for the high cost of municipal services spread out over areas of low population density. Open space is being consumed at a terrifying rate, so that suburbs once in open country are now surrounded. Traveltime to the city has multiplied as the expressways get clogged during rush hours.

Some experts do not find these problems of city decay and suburban sprawl unduly alarming. They maintain that the continuing dispersal that present trends indicate for the future is inevitable, and not necessarily undesirable. I believe the opposite.

Suburban sprawl and urban decay have not come about solely because people have made a free choice in a free enterprise market. That choice has been influenced by Federal housing subsidies, which, purporting to be neutral, have in fact subsidized low-density middle-income living in the suburbs and have thereby financed the flight of white population from the city. Another factor affecting this dispersal has been our segregation practices within the city.

The lack of public discussion about the influence of housing segregation and Federal housing subsidies upon urban growth patterns has been a barrier to understanding the problems of the city and suburbs and has created a feeling of hopelessness about the future of America's cities. It is my purpose here to show that it is possible to deal constructively with the problems of the metropolitan region if these important factors are not ignored.

**THE LOW-DENSITY URBAN REGION**

Compared to the time span of Western civilization the modern urban complex, sometimes called megalopolis, is a new, young phenomenon. Some people are confident that a new technology of communication and transportation will solve many of the most intractable problems of the metropolitan region and that, in time, the region of the future will emerge. "The spatial patterns of

Footnotes at end of speech.

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American settlements," it is now believed, will be considerably more dispersed, varied, and space consuming than they ever were in the past.<sup>2</sup> One author envisions "continuous low-density urban belts stretching from Maine to Virginia, from Toronto and Pittsburgh to Milwaukee, and from Amsterdam to Frankfurt and Mannheim. However, there seems to be no reason why, properly organized and interlaced with greenbelts, freeways, natural reservations and sites of historic interest, and accented vertically by occasional high-rise elements, these low-density urban regions of tomorrow should not be more livable and effective in satisfying the totality of human values than the transitional urban forms of today."<sup>3</sup>

Acceptance of low-density regional development as the pattern for the future is encouraged by the lack of genuine popular support for a massive attack on the problems of the city and the region. To most suburban residents their experience "seems not one of personal retrogression but of continuous improvement. By moving out of the slag heaps of the worked-out city they have improved their surroundings sufficient for a generation."<sup>4</sup>

While no businessman whose offices must be located in the central business district, and no dweller in the city slums, can accept the decline of the city with equanimity, it is quite likely that if we do nothing to alter present trends the low-density urban region will be the pattern of the future. The New York metropolitan region, for example, has grown outward along major transportation arteries. The axis of growth extended 5 miles in 1900, 25 miles in 1980, and may become 50 miles by 1985. Under existing zoning patterns of low-density development twice the amount of land will be developed in the next 25 years as in the entire history of the New York region.<sup>5</sup> A similar pattern emerges for every metropolitan region in the United States as a projected 45 to 50 million more people are added to suburbia by 1980.

Acceptance of low-density regional growth also implies a curtailment of mass transportation, for mass transportation works well only in highly concentrated areas where trip origins and destinations are clustered and not where they are widely dispersed. Conversely, the automobile, which functions so efficiently for decentralized traffic, becomes highly inefficient under conditions of intense demand. Suburban sprawl will thus bring about a further decline in mass transportation, as increasing reliance on the automobile brings more congestion to the central districts.

## THE DECLINE OF THE CITY

Each new expressway not only undercuts the market for mass transportation but accelerates the movement of industry away from the central cities. The truck and the car have given the manufacturer new opportunities to select sites in outlying areas. The movement of industry from central city locations to outlying suburban locations has created a new phenomenon—out-commuting. "The movement each morning of people from homes in the center portions of the urban areas to jobs on the periphery is growing fast. The spectacle of groups of blue-collar workers travelling outward by car pool against the flow of incoming traffic is now a common sight on the roads of many large cities. In fact the spotty and fragmentary information on this phenomenon suggests that it may be one of the fastest growing streams of traffic among the complex currents of our urban areas."<sup>6</sup>

Nor have the results of the Federal programs for slum clearance, urban renewal, and public housing so far given any reason to expect that the trend toward city decline and low-density regional settlement will be

reversed. Slums in the cities are growing faster than we can clear them. Even in New York City, which has had the largest slum clearance and rebuilding program of any city in the United States, the rate of deterioration of housing units has been as great as the rate at which new housing has been constructed. We should not expect urban renewal to work so long as there is no place for persons evacuated from the slums to live. People displaced by urban renewal and by the new expressways have created new slums.

The new luxury apartment buildings constructed since the end of World War II have not prevented the exodus of middle-income white families to the suburbs. It was thought that upper income families would move into these expensive apartments and people in the next income level would move into the apartments thus vacated. Instead, the vacated apartments were converted for occupancy by lower income people. Middle-income families who could not afford private schools for their children moved to the suburbs, leaving behind in the cities people without children, upper income families, and low-income families who had no choice. The problem was compounded by the impact of segregation practices. Apartment buildings vacated by those who moved into new luxury accommodations were converted into slums overnight. The "trickle-down" approach failed as the trickle became a torrent.

Moreover, no one is satisfied with public housing. By rejecting all those whose incomes exceeded the prescribed limits public housing has developed a concentration of those members of society who are not able to support themselves. Coupled with the fact that most cities have followed a deliberate program of segregation in public housing, the result has been to create in many places an environment lacking in all of the positive attributes of urban life. The second generation of many public housing occupants is now coming to maturity and it is already clear that many of them will never become viable members of society.

Urban renewal programs aimed at aiding the central business district show greater promise of long-range success, probably because there is considerable strength in the central business district to begin with. New office buildings in the central areas of each of the metropolitan regions demonstrate that financial and commercial institutions, public utilities, newspapers and magazines, and government, together with the lawyers, accountants, stockbrokers, and others involved in serving these institutions, require a centralized location.<sup>7</sup> Most cities in the United States have only one business district. The fact that Los Angeles now has several scattered clusters of office buildings, does not indicate a decentralization of office activities. The diffusion may make doing business in Los Angeles a little more difficult than in Chicago or Baltimore, for example, but the clusters of office buildings in the California city are still reasonably close together in relation to the region as a whole. It is certainly not possible for the office activities of Manhattan Island to be spread out over suburbia. Even most of the retail stores in the central business districts, which declined for a while because of the competition of suburban shopping centers, have begun to revive.

Thus, although a sizable number of people and industries has moved out of the central city, there has been far less movement of office activities to outlying areas than some reports would lead us to believe.

## THE EXPLODING POPULATION

The movement of white population to suburban areas and the concentration of Negro population in the central city will be intensified during the next 15 years if present trends continue.

In 1950 about 63 percent of the total population of the United States or about

112 million persons lived in what are known statistically as standard metropolitan areas.<sup>8</sup> Between 1970 and 1980 as much as 73 percent of the total population will reside within the urban complex. If the post-war birth rate continues, the total population will have increased between 1950 and 1980 from 150 to 260 million, an increase of 110 million people in 30 years (a single human generation).<sup>9</sup> More than two-thirds of these 110 million people will have settled in megalopolis, if events do not alter present trends.

Population projections beyond the year 2000 begin to reach astronomical numbers. It is not necessary, however, to look that far ahead. The children are already born who will be forming households in 1980, only 16 years from now. It is becoming clear that the new dwellings, transportation, offices, and factories that these people will require will either contribute further to city decay and suburban sprawl or provide the opportunity for creating a new regional environment.

Since the end of World War II the Negro population has been increasing even faster than the white population. Philip Hauser points out that the decline of the nonwhite death rate together with the increase in their birth rate has resulted in a rate of growth for nonwhites 60 percent higher than for whites.<sup>10</sup> This great national rise is dwarfed by an even more explosive increase of nonwhites in metropolitan areas.<sup>11</sup> By 1990 about 2,500,000 Negroes are expected to be living in the Chicago metropolitan area, about 1,500,000 more than in 1960. "At that time there would still be a slight majority of whites in the city of Chicago and one-fourth of the entire consolidated area population would be nonwhite."<sup>12</sup> These projections assume accelerated suburbanization of nonwhites in the future. However, "if the exact trends of the 1950 to 1960 decade were to be extrapolated into the future they would show a majority of nonwhites in the city of Chicago by 1975 and a substantially higher proportion of nonwhites for the total consolidated areas."<sup>13</sup>

The migration to the cities of rural Negroes and southern whites and Puerto Ricans has already imposed heavy tax burdens on the city. In 1959, for example, New York City spent \$50 million for remedial programs for its Puerto Rican newcomers, more than it spent on all its parks, libraries, zoos, and museums in that year.<sup>14</sup> In its 1959-60 budget New York City assigned 23 percent to public hospitalization, health, and welfare and 20 percent to education.<sup>15</sup> The great growth rate of the Negro population in New York, through continued migration as well as natural increase during the next 15 years, will tend to increase even further the city's costs for welfare, health, and education.

The picture that emerges from these forecasts is far from salutary. Low-density regional settlements in which industry and the white population spread out over the countryside without adequate mass transportation contrasts with the concentrated Negro occupancy of the center city, whose tax base has diminished by the flight of industry and whose expenses have increased for the care of its immigrants. Moreover, a growing number of the center-city population will be commuting to jobs in the suburbs while many of the suburban whites will continue to travel to jobs in a still strong central business district.

The waste of human resources and money in this increased commuting, the inability of the automobile and the expressways to handle the traffic, the changing character of the city largely occupied by a financial and business community and a segregated Negro population, the financing of public services for a migrant population in the face of disappearing industry and lost taxes, the interdependence of the financial and commercial life of the suburbs and the city—these are

Footnotes at end of speech.